



## Department of State

## TELEGRAM

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E.O. 11652: N/A  
 QS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR  
 SUBJECT: TRAVELING PRESS REPORTAGE: RADIO/TV

FOR ANDERSON FROM KING

1. THURSDAY MORNING:

--A. DUNSMORE (ABC RADIO FROM DAMASCUS):

--- ISRAEL AND SYRIA ARE CURRENTLY DEADLOCKED ON THE ISSUE OF THE THINNING OUT OF THEIR FORCES ON EITHER SIDE OF THE DISENGAGEMENT LINE, A LINE AGREED EARLIER THIS WEEK. A SENIOR OFFICIAL IN SECRETARY KISSINGER'S PARTY TOLD NEWSMEN ON THE PLANE HERE TO DAMASCUS THAT THE SECRETARY WAS IN HIS WORDS, "TRYING TO SEE IF WE GET THEM CONCEPTUALLY CLOSE ENOUGH TO SEE WHETHER AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL CAN BREAK THE DEADLOCK., IT WAS AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL WHICH BROKE THE PREVIOUS DEADLOCK ON THE DISENGAGEMENT LINE WHICH WAS LATER AGREED TO. IT WAS ALSO AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL WHICH BROKE THE DEADLOCK IN THE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATION IN JANUARY.

--B. ANDERSON (GROUP W NEWS - RADIO FROM JERUSALEM):

--- KISSINGER GOES INTO THE FINAL AND PROBABLY DECISIVE PHASE OF THIS SERIES OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WITH TWO ISSUES UNSETTLED. THEY ARE THE SIZE AND KIND OF THE UN FORCE THAT WILL SUPERVISE THE CEASEFIRE AND THE NUMBER AND KIND OF WEAPONS THAT WILL BE PERMITTED IN THE THINNED OUT ZONES ADJACENT TO THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE BETWEEN THE TWO FORCES. EARLY IN THIS TRIP AMERICAN OFFICIALS WERE SAYING THAT THESE WERE THE KIND OF ISSUES WHICH ARE NEGOTIABLE BECAUSE THEY INVOLVE DEGREES OF DIFFERENCE RATHER THAN PRINCIPLES. HOWEVER, AS THESE SHUTTLE TRIPS DRAG ON INTO THEIR THIRD WEEK CONFIDENCE IS BEING REPLACED BY AN AWARENESS THAT EVERY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BITTER ENEMIES IS A DIFFERENCE OF PRINCIPLE. KISSINGER, ACCORDING TO SENIOR OFFICIALS, SAYS THAT HE IS

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GOING BACK TO WASHINGTON THIS WEEKEND. THOUGH IF THERE IS NO SUCCESS IN THE NEXT 24 HOURS OR SO, THE TALKS COULD DRAG ON FOR WEEKS MORE AT A TECHNICAL LEVEL.

--C. VALERIANI (NBC/TV FROM JERUSALEM):

--- KISSINGER HAS BEEN ON THE ROAD FOR ALMOST FOUR WEEKS NOW, AN EXTRAORDINARY AMOUNT OF TIME FOR A SECRETARY OF STATE TO BE AWAY ON A SINGLE MISSION. BUT THE POTENTIAL DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL REWARDS ARE GREAT. IN THE FIRST PLACE, KISSINGER FEELS THAT AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA MIGHT REPRESENT AN HISTORIC TURNING POINT IN THE ME AND THAT ALONE COULD MAKE THE EFFORT WORTHWHILE. IN ADDITION, AN AGREEMENT WOULD BE A VIRTUAL GUARANTEE THAT THE ARAB OIL EMBARGO WOULD NOT BE RE-IMPOSED AGAINST THE U.S., AND IT WOULD FURTHER ADVANCE THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE ENTIRE ARAB WORLD. THERE ARE ALSO IMPORTANT DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS. AN AGREEMENT NOW COULD HELP PRESIDENT NIXON IN HIS FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL, ESPECIALLY SINCE HE HAS MADE HIS ACHIEVEMENTS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL PILLARS OF HIS SUCCESS. IT MIGHT ALSO PAVE THE WAY FOR A PRESIDENTIAL TRIP TO THE ME, ANOTHER POTENTIAL PLUS IN MR. NIXON'S BATTLE AGAINST IMPEACHMENT. ALL OF THESE FACTORS EXPLAIN WHY KISSINGER HAS INVESTED SO MUCH TIME IN THIS MISSION.

--D. KALB (CBS FIRST LINE REPORT):

--- IT IS THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S DECISION, NOT THE PRESIDENT'S AND IT IS A HARD ONE. IN WASHINGTON THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO ARE BEGINNING TO QUESTION THE WISDOM OF THEIR SECRETARY OF STATE SERVING AS AN AMBASSADOR AT LARGE, AN AVERELL HARRIMAN RUSHING FROM ONE CAPITAL TO ANOTHER PATCHING UP DIFFERENCES, IN THIS CASE PRODUCING A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL, TRYING

TO ANYWAY. THEY FEEL THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE OUGHT TO BE SPENDING MORE TIME IN WASHINGTON, ESPECIALLY DURING A PERIOD OF ACUTE NATIONAL STRESS -- COURTING CONGRESS AND IF NECESSARY PREACHING TO THE PUBLIC. EVEN SEVERAL OF THE SECRETARY'S OWN TOP AIDES BELIEVE HE OUGHT TO BE DOING LESS TRAVELING, MORE STAYING AT HOME. THE MISTER-FIX-IT IMAGE IN THEIR VIEW SOMEHOW DEBASING THE CURRENCY OF HIS OFFICE.

KISSINGER IS AWARE OF ALL OF THESE SENTIMENTS AND YET HE IS TORN BY CONFLICTING EMOTIONS. OBJECTIVELY HE KNOWS THAT HE HAS INSTITUTIONALIZED NOT FOGGY BOTTOM BUT HIMSELF. HE HAS BECOME THE INSTITUTION, A DRIVING FORCE IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, NOT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WHICH HE RUNS WHEN HE HAPPENS TO BE IN WASHINGTON. STILL, DESPITE HIS AWARENESS OF THESE SHORTCOMINGS HE DOGGEDLY PLUGS ON, DETERMINED IF IT IS AT ALL POSSIBLE TO COMPLETE THIS

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AGREEMENT ON DISENGAGEMENT BEFORE HE LEAVES THE ME.

HE HAS PROMISED EVERYONE, PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY, THAT HE WILL LEAVE THIS WEEKEND, THE BEGINNING OF HIS FIFTH WEEK OUT OF WASHINGTON. HE WANTS THE AGREEMENT FOR A WIDE RANGE OF IMPORTANT REASONS. FIRST, SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD DEFUSE TENSIONS BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL, HOLDING OFF THE OUTBREAK OF A NEW WAR IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. THAT IN TURN HAS MANY BENEFITS -- IT HELPS SADAT WHO MADE THE FIRST MAJOR DEAL WITH ISRAEL LAST JANUARY. IF ASSAD FOLLOWS SADAT'S EXAMPLE IT GETS SADAT OFF THE HOOK AND IT BROADENS THE APPEAL OF ARAB ACCOMODATION WITH ISRAEL. IT ENHANCES THE POSITION OF THE MODERATES, ISOLATES THE RADICALS. IT STRENGTHENS AMERICA'S CASE FOR AN UNLIMITED FLOW OF ARAB OIL AND IT WIDENS AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THE AREA AT THE EXPENSE, OBVIOUSLY, OF THE SOVIET UNION. MOREOVER, A DISENGAGEMENT DEAL BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL MIGHT HAVE IMMEDIATE BY-PRODUCTS. A KISSINGER-CONCEIVED DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT WOULD BE REGARDED AS A BIG PLUS FOR THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, A HELP FOR A BELEAGUERED PRESIDENT. IT WOULD NO DOUBT BE USED BY THE WHITE HOUSE AS PROOF OF THE PRESIDENT'S INDISPENSABILITY, IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT LEAST. IT WOULD CREATE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PRESIDENT TO VISIT THE ME AND IT WOULD ENHANCE HIS BARGAINING POWERS IN MOSCOW IF HE GOES THERE IN LATE JUNE AS PLANNED.

SO FOR ALL OF THESE REASONS AN AGREEMENT IS TERRIBLY IMPORTANT TO KISSINGER, TO HIS BOSS AND TO THE ME. THE NEXT FEW DAYS ARE QUITE CRITICAL. THE NEGOTIATION IS BALANCED ON THE MUTUAL FEARS AND SUSPICIONS OF THE

SYRIANS AND THE ISRAELIS. KISSINGER IS REALLY CLOSE TO AN AGREEMENT. BUT CLOSENESS DOES NOT PAY OFF; ONLY THE AGREEMENT ITSELF DOES. IF BY FRIDAY THE AGREEMENT IS AT HAND, BUT NOT IN HAND SHOULD HE STAY ON AND TRY FOR A FEW MORE DAYS, OR SHOULD HE GO HOME AFTER FOUR WEEKS WITH NO AGREEMENT? IT IS A HARD DECISION, A WEIGHING OF POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC FACTORS FOR WHICH THERE ARE NO EASY ANSWERS.

2. ONLY VALERIANI APPEARED ON CAMERA ON WEDNESDAY EVENING NETWORK TV PROGRAMS. HAVE ADDED A KALB RADIO SPOT WHICH ESSENTIALLY WAS REPEATED ON CBS TV THURSDAY MORNING:

#### A. VALERIANI (NBC/TV)

FOLLOWING WHAT HAS BECOME A DAILY ROUTINE KISSINGER CONFERRED AGAIN THIS MORNING WITH ISRAELI LEADERS IN JERUSALEM STILL TRYING TO PIN DOWN PRECISELY WHERE THE LINE OF DISENGAGEMENT SHOULD BE DRAWN. AFTERWARDS HE GAVE NEWSMEN A BRIEF STATUS REPORT ON THE NEGOTIATION.

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KISSINGER (ON CAMERA): WE KNOW SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE DEMARCATION LINE BUT THERE ARE A WHOLE RANGE OF OTHER ISSUES THAT ARE LINKED TO IT -- SUCH AS BUFFER ZONES, THINNING OUT OF FORCES, UN PRESENCE, PRISONERS -- WHICH WE ARE NOW NEGOTIATING AND ON SEVERAL OF WHICH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. I AM GOING BACK TO DAMASCUS THIS AFTERNOON TO DISCUSS THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH STILL REMAIN UNRESOLVED, BECAUSE OBVIOUSLY THE WHOLE THING IS ONE PACKAGE.

VALERIANI -- THEN HE WAS OFF TO DAMASCUS ON SHUTTLE NUMBER EIGHT. DISENGAGEMENT PROBLEMS SUCH AS THE WIDTH OF A BUFFER ZONE AND A THINNING OUT OF MILITARY FORCES ON EACH SIDE OF IT ARE MORE COMPLICATED IN THIS NEGOTIATION THAN THEY WERE IN THE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN TALKS BECAUSE THE AREA IS POPULATED AND THE DISTANCES INVOLVED ARE MUCH SMALLER, MEANING LESS ROOM FOR MANEUVERING. SO THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE TAKING MORE TIME. KISSINGER IS NOW RACING AGAINST THE WEEKEND DEADLINE THAT HE HAS SET FOR HIMSELF. SOME KIND OF AGREEMENT APPEARS CERTAIN BY THEN, IF ONLY AN AGREEMENT ON THE LINE ITSELF AND, PERHAPS, A NEW CEASEFIRE. KISSINGER IS STILL HOPING FOR AN AGREEMENT THAT WILL BE COMPLETE ENOUGH THAT HE WON'T HAVE TO TAKE ANOTHER MISSION TO WRAP IT UP.

B. KALB (CBS RADIO)

KISSINGER RETURNED TO ISRAEL TONIGHT AFTER SPENDING THREE AND A HALF HOURS WITH ASSAD. BUT THE SECRETARY APPARENTLY DID NOT SOLVE THE TWO KEY PROBLEMS REMAINING BEFORE AN AGREEMENT CAN BE PROCLAIMED. THEY ARE: HOW MANY UN TROOPS WILL BE ASSIGNED TO POLICE THE CEASEFIRE; AND HOW MUCH FIREPOWER AND MANPOWER WILL BE ALLOWED IN THE THINNED-DOWN ZONES ON EITHER SIDE OF THE UN BUFFER. THERE ARE, ACCORDING TO ONE SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL, SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ON BOTH OF THESE ISSUES. OF COURSE, THERE ARE AREAS OF AGREEMENT, ON A LINE OF DISENGAGEMENT, ON A CEASEFIRE, ON THE RELEASE OF POW'S AND ON THE IDEA OF HAVING A UN FORCE BETWEEN THE TWO ARMIES. BUT THE TWO BIG PROBLEMS NOW ARE REAL AND ONLY SMALL HEADWAY IS BEING CITED.

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